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512 222 combs of black honey are to be found[1], and these are generally consumed by the hunters on the spot.

The provision of the vegetable food of the community is the work of the women, who must also supply the camp with firewood and water. While the men are away hunting the 462 women, attended by the children, cut and carry the firewood, 512 and either remain in the camp making baskets or nets or other 222 objects, or else go into the forest to look for fruits and seeds. Thus by midday the camp may be quite deserted, save perhaps for one or two old men and women, and a few of the children.

In the afternoon the women return with what food they have 512 obtained and then the men come in with their provision. The 252 camp, unless the hunters have been unsuccessful, is then busy with the preparation of the evening meal, which is the chief meal of the day. If a pig has been brought home whole it is cooked at the public cooking place and is then cut up. The meat is distributed amongst the members of the community and the woman of each family then proceeds to cook the family meal. The pork, after it has been roasted and cut up, is further cooked by being boiled. The family meal is prepared at the fire that each family has in its hut. The meal is a family one, partaken [264] by a man and his wife and children. The bachelors cook and eat their own meal, and the unmarried women also eat by themselves.

512 After the meal is over, darkness having by this time fallen, the [535] men may spend an hour or two in dancing to the accompaniment 537 of a song sung by one of them with the help of a chorus of women. In that case they would probably eat another meal after the dance was over. Another favourite amusement for the evening is what may be called "yarning." A man sits down with a few listeners and tells them, with few words, and with many dramatic gestures, how he killed a pig. The same man may go on with 512 tale after tale, till, by the time he finishes he has killed twenty or thirty pigs. Finally the whole camp retires to rest and nothing

[1] There are two kinds of wild bee in the Andamans. A small species makes black honeycombs in hollow trees, and these may be found at any time of the year. A larger species of bee builds white combs suspended from the underside of branches in tall trees. Such combs are found in abundance only in the hot season, and not at all in the middle of the rainy season.

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is to be seen but the dim light of the little fires burning in each hut or in each of the family quarters. 512

On a day when there is plenty of food left from the day before, or on a day of stormy weather even when food is not too plentiful, the men may remain in camp instead of going hunting. They busy themselves with making weapons and implements, such as bows, arrows, adzes, etc.

On occasions when game is not very plentiful a party of hunters may stay away from the camp for a few days, not returning till they have been successful in obtaining a fair supply of food. The women and children and old men, with perhaps a few of the able bodied men also, remain at home and provide for themselves as well as they can, the women devoting their time to collecting what vegetable foods are in season.

At the end of the rainy season there comes a brief period of unsettled weather, called by the natives of the North Andaman *Kimil*, and by those of the South, *Gumul*. During this season some of the vegetable foods begin to be available, though not in any quantities. At this time of the year the natives are able to obtain and feast upon what they regard as great delicacies, the larvae of the cicada and of the great capricornis beetle. The cool season, when fruits and roots are plentiful, begins at the end of November. The forest dwellers leave their main encampment during this season. Some of them go off to pay visits to their friends of other local groups. Such visits may last two or three months. Those who remain occupy temporary camps in convenient places. The men join the women in looking for roots and fruits, and do not spend so much of their time in hunting. Some of the men visit the main camp at intervals of a few days to see that it is all right. As the cool season gives way to the hot season (March to May) honey begins to be plentiful. At that time hunting for pig is almost abandoned. The pigs are in poor condition, and even when one is killed it is often left in the jungle by the natives as not being good enough to eat. On the other hand everyone is busy collecting honey. This is work in which both men and women join, though it is the men who climb up the trees and cut down the honeycomb. The natives have no means of keeping the honey for more than

221 262 [574] 221 222 262 [462]

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221 222 262 a very short time, as it rapidly ferments.[1] While it is plentiful they almost live on it, supplementing it with roots and fruits and with fish, if they are near a creek. Towards the end of the hot season the fruit of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, which is a favourite food of the natives, becomes ripe. The men and women, at this time, spend much of their time collecting the fruit. When it is collected the fruit is broken open and each of the seeds is sucked to obtain the juicy pulp or aril with which it is surrounded, and which has a very pleasant taste. The seeds are then partly boiled and are buried in the ground to remain there for a few weeks, when they will be dug up again and cooked and eaten. Any natives who may have been away from home on a visit, return before the *Artocarpus* comes into fruit in order to take their share in collecting it and providing a supply of the seeds for consumption in the rainy season. The natives then return to the headquarters camp and make any necessary repairs to the hut in preparation for the rainy season, which begins about the middle of May.

221 262 The coast-dwellers are not quite so much influenced by the seasons as the forest-dwellers. They can fish and collect molluscs all the year round. In the rainy season they divide their time between hunting pig in the forest and fishing or turtle hunting. They do not need, however, to remain at the same camp during the whole of the rainy season, but after a month or two at one place can move to what they hope to find better hunting grounds. During the cool and hot seasons they pay visits to one another. In the fine weather the men often go off on turtle-hunting expeditions for several days, leaving the women and children and older men in the village, where they provide for themselves with vegetable food and with fish and molluscs from the reefs.

It is during the fine weather that there take place the meetings of two or more local groups that are an important feature of the social life of the Andaman Islanders. These meetings will be described later in the present chapter.

462 Besides their food, which they must find from day to day, the natives have need of nothing save their weapons and implements. Of these each person makes his own, each man making his

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own bow, arrows, adze, etc., while the wife makes her baskets, nets and so on. 462

The economic life of the local group, though in effect it approaches to a sort of communism, is yet based on the notion of private property. Land is the only thing that is owned in common. The hunting grounds of a local group belong to the whole group, and all the members have an equal right to hunt over any part of it. There exists, however, a certain private ownership of trees. A man of one of the local groups of the coast may notice in the jungle a tree suitable for a canoe. He will tell the others that he has noticed such a tree, describing it and its whereabouts. Thenceforward that tree is regarded as his property, and even if some years should elapse, and he has made no use of it, yet another man would not cut it down without first asking the owner to give him the tree. In a similar way certain men claim to possess certain *Artocarpus* trees, though how the ownership in these cases had arisen I was unable to determine. No one would pick the fruit off such a tree without the permission of the owner, and having received permission and gathered the fruit he would give some part of it to the owner of the tree. 421

A pig belongs to the man whose arrow first strikes it, though if the arrow merely glanced off and did not remain in the wound it would not give any claim to ownership. A turtle or a dugong or big fish belongs to the man who throws the harpoon with which it is taken. A honeycomb belongs to the man who climbs the tree and cuts it down. The fish that a man shoots belong to him, and to a woman belong the roots she digs up, the seeds that she collects, the fish or prawns that she takes in her net or the molluscs that she brings from the reefs. Any weapon that a man makes belongs to him alone to do what he pleases with, and anything that a woman makes is her own property. A man is not free to dispose of the personal property of his wife without her permission. [562]

In the village each family erects and keeps in repair its own hut, and the wife provides the hut with the firewood and water needed. In the case of a communal hut it would seem that this is really an example of a possession common to the whole group. 421 594 342

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and a bachelor or a young married man, however, the younger would not make any request of such a nature, and if the older man asked the younger for anything the latter would give it without always expecting a return. 431 576

Almost every object that the Andamanese possess is thus constantly changing hands. Even canoes may be given away, but it is more usual for these to be lent by the owner to his friends. 431 [426]

It has been stated above that all food is private property and belongs to the man or woman who has obtained it. Every one who has food is expected, however, to give to those who have none. An older married man will reserve for himself sufficient for his family, and will then give the rest to his friends. A younger man is expected to give away the best of what he gets to the older men. This is particularly the case with the bachelors. Should a young unmarried man kill a pig he must be content to see it distributed by one of the older men, all the best parts going to the seniors, while he and his companions must be satisfied with the inferior parts. The result of these customs is that practically all the food obtained is evenly distributed through the whole camp, the only inequality being that the younger men do not fare so well as their elders. Generosity is esteemed by the Andaman Islanders one of the highest of virtues and is unremittingly practised by the majority of them. 421 431 [577]

Within the local group there is no such thing as a division of labour save as between the two sexes. In the coastal groups every man is expected to be able to hunt pig, to harpoon turtle and to catch fish, and also to cut a canoe, to make bows and arrows and all the other objects that are made by men. It happens that some men are more skilful in certain pursuits than in others. A skilful turtle-hunter, for example, may be an indifferent pig-hunter, and such a man will naturally prefer to devote himself to the pursuit in which he appears to most advantage. 462•

The division of labour between the sexes is fairly clearly marked. A man hunts and fishes, using the bow and arrow and the harpoon; he makes his own bows and arrows, his adze and knife, cuts canoes and makes rope for harpoon lines. A woman

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462 collects fruits and digs up roots with her digging stick; she catches prawns and crabs and small fish with her small fishing net; she provides the firewood and the water of the family and does the cooking (i.e. the family cooking, but not the common cooking, which is entirely done by men); she makes all such objects as baskets, nets of thread, and personal ornaments either for herself or her husband.

888 623 There is no organised government in an Andamanese village. The affairs of the community are regulated entirely by the older men and women. The younger members of the community are brought up to pay respect to their elders and to submit to them in many ways. It has already been shown how, in the distribution of food, the elders get the best share. When it is a question of shifting camp to some better hunting ground the opinion of the older men would weigh against that of the younger if they disagreed. It must not be thought, however, that the older men are tyrannical or selfish. I only once heard a young man complain of the older men getting so much the best of everything. The respect for seniority is kept alive partly by tradition and partly by the fact that the older men have had a greater experience than the younger. It could probably not be maintained if it regularly gave rise to any tyrannical treatment of the younger by the elder.

888 576 The respect for seniors is shown in the existence of special terms of address which men and women use when speaking to their elders. In the languages of the North Andaman there are two such terms, *Mai* or *Maia*, applied to men, with a meaning equivalent to "Sir," and *Mimi*, applied to women. These words may be used either alone or prefixed to the personal name of the person addressed. A younger man speaking to an older one whose name was *Bora* would address him either as *Mai* (Sir), or as *Maia Bora* (Sir Bora).

In the tribes of the South Andaman there are exactly similar terms. In the *Aka-Bea* tribe *Maia* or *Maiola* is used in addressing men and *Čana* or *Čanola* in speaking to women. In *Akar-Bale* the equivalent terms are *Da* and *In*. Besides these terms there is in these tribes another, *Mam*, *Mama* or *Mamola*, which may be used in speaking to either men or women, and which

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along the gunwale. These designs soon wear off when the canoe is in use and are not renewed.

The paddles used by the Andamanese vary considerably in size and to some extent in shape, but the following description with its accompanying figure gives a fair idea of a typical specimen. The whole paddle has a length of 123·5 centimetres, the shaft being 85 centimetres and the blade 38·5 centimetres. The diameter of the shaft from the blade to the middle is 2·6 centimetres, and from the middle towards the handle end it tapers to a point. The shaft is circular in section throughout its length. The blade is leaf-shaped, pointed bluntly at the apex. In section it is plano-convex, with a maximum thickness of 1·3 centimetres and a width of 8·7 centimetres. Paddles are cut with an adze from the wood of the *Myristica longifolia* and planed with a boar's tusk. They are often ornamented, when new, with painted designs in red and white.

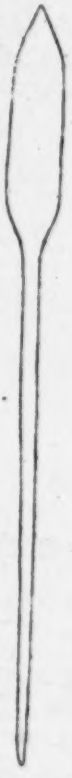

Fig. 46. Paddle

In deep water the canoe is paddled. Each of the occupants sits facing forward. The steersman sits on the stern platform. The others sit on the seats provided by the outrigger booms. Each man paddles on which side he chooses. It rests with the steersman to maintain the canoe in its proper course. In shallow water the canoe is propelled with a pole. A man stands on the forward platform and poles the canoe, steering as he does so. In a fairly large canoe a man at the stern may also take a pole and, standing up, help to propel the canoe.

All the work connected with the making of canoes and paddles is done by men alone, except the painting, which is usually done by women. It is the men also who make most use of canoes.

The large canoe, that is now made by all the tribes of the Great Andaman Division, is simply a canoe of the same general shape as the Great Andaman outrigger canoe, cut from a larger tree and without the outrigger. The shape of the hull, with its platforms fore and aft, is exactly the same. It seems that when the natives obtained a plentiful supply of iron tools (after 1858) they began to cut down and hollow out larger trees than formerly. Having made these larger canoes they found that they would, when well cut and ballasted with stone, float quite well without an outrigger. (It may be mentioned that the hull of a small canoe is always tested on the water before the outrigger is attached.) Indeed a well cut canoe of large size floats and balances

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342 the roof, which is thatched with palm leaves of the variety called *chà·ngta-*. These are neatly plaited together, and fastened with cane, *pī·dga-*, and then placed in rows and tied, so that, when complete, the whole forms a capital roof impervious to the heaviest shower of rain.

[462] 3. The second variety, *chàng-tô·rnga-*,[1] are erected when temporary homes are required, which will last for a few months, as during the period of mourning;[2] they are made by men, and differ only from the *chàng-tē·pinga-* in being generally somewhat smaller, and less neatly thatched; another variety of palm leaf, called *âm-*, is sometimes substituted for the *chà·ngta-*.

4. The *chàng-dar·anga-*, or the third variety, being only intended to serve as shelter during a halt or short visit, is constructed in [462] a yet more simple manner. The duty of erecting dwellings of this class devolves on the women, and from the following description it will be seen that the labour required is not excessive: two slender posts, about five feet long, are driven into the ground about five or six feet apart, and connected by means of a light pole or stick, which is secured to their upper ends. The roof is then formed by placing, stem downwards and firmly fixed in the ground, large palm leaves, which are made to overlap each other in such a way as to provide a fairly rain-proof shelter for one or two persons.[3] The leaves used for the purpose are either the *chà·ngta-*, *kâ·pa-*, or *â·para-*.

[353] 5. Above the small fire, without which no hut is complete, a small wooden platform or shelf, called *châ·pa lī tâ·ga-*, or *yât let* [251] *tâ·ga-*, is placed on one or more sticks. On this they deposit their spare food, so that it may be preserved by the smoke from the attacks of insects, &c.[4] By way of adornment, trophies of [353] the chase, such as the skulls of pigs,[5] turtles, dugongs, &c., are suspended from the front of the roof.[6]

6. It seems desirable to draw attention to the following passage in Dr. Dobson's paper, lest, if left unnoticed, some misapprehension should arise on the subject. He states that "the Andamanese, at least the inhabitants of the southern island, erect no kind of house whatever . . . . When walking along the beach in the vicinity of Port Mouat,

[1] This variety is shown in Plate III, fig. 2.

[2] *Vide post* "Death and Burial," paragraph 4.

[3] Similar leaf shelters are erected by the Puris. *Vide* E. B. Tylor's "Anthropology."

[4] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 31.

[5] This style of decoration is now-a-days falling into disuse, especially in South Andaman, for, with the assistance of dogs, hunting is much less arduous now than formerly, and a large collection of pig skulls is, therefore, easily obtained by the least skilful among them.

[6] Figuier speaks also of "large dried fish tied in bunches" being similarly treated, but no ground for such a statement can be discovered.

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PART III.

Social Relations, Education, Infanticide—Attire—Tattooing—Painting—Shaving—Deformations—Weights and Measures—Astronomy—Trade, Exchangeable Values, and Property—Agriculture—Training and Domestication of Animals—Food—Tabu—Warfare—Hunting and Fishing—Navigation—Ornamentation—Pottery—Natural Forms and Miscellaneous Manufactures—Leather-work—Metallurgy—Stone Implements—Basket-work—String—Games and Amusements.

Social Relations, Education, and Infanticide.—1. Although it is true that the performance of most of the domestic duties falls to the lot of the women and children, it would be a great mistake to suppose that any compulsion is used by the head of the family; he usually leads quite as active a life as any of the females, and often shares certain of their labours, when necessity arises in consequence of sickness or other cause. As I have already stated,[1] it is quite incorrect to say of these savages that with them "marriage is nothing more than taking a female slave," for one of the most striking features of their social relations is the marked equality and affection which subsists between husband and wife;[2] careful observations extending over many years prove that not only is the husband's authority more or less nominal, but that it is not at all an uncommon occurrence for Andamanese Benedicts to be considerably at the beck and call of their better halves: in short, the consideration and respect with which women are treated might with advantage be emulated by certain classes in our own land.

2. The duties of the husband,—varying in the case of his being an *ē'rem-tâ'ga-* or an *àryó'to-*—consist chiefly in hunting, fishing, turtling, collecting honey, &c., constructing canoes, building the better kinds of huts,[3] and manufacturing the bows, arrows, and other implements needed in his various pursuits; he must also assist his wife in looking after the children, in keeping up the fire, and in providing the materials

[1] *Vide* "Marriage," paragraph 1.

[2] It has been correctly stated that "their mutual intercourse is courteous and genial, and the affection between parents and children is peculiarly tender" (Peschel, p. 148).

[3] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 2.

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462 required in making their various weapons, utensils, &c.; but though he has no hesitation in sharing and lightening his wife's labours up to this point, it is only in cases of stern necessity that he will condescend to procure either wood or water for the family requirements; the supply of these essentials of daily life being considered as peculiarly feminine duties and derogatory to the lords of creation.

3. Every woman is supposed to be a proficient in shaving,[1] tattooing,[2] and scarifying; she has also to prepare the *kòi-ob-tâ-la-ŏg-*, and *kâ-ngatâ-bŭj-*,[3] which are needed on so many occasions. The erection of the *chàng-dar-anga-*,[4] and the manufacture of personal ornaments,[5] and various other objects in constant use,[6] is also confined to the fair (!) sex, and when to these are added their daily duties of procuring certain kinds of food, cooking, and providing the water and fuel required for the family, it will be seen that the Andamanese materfamilias—who has not several children old enough to give her material assistance—has her time fully employed, or at least sufficiently so to prevent her getting into much mischief.

461 4. It is the duty of those men and women who remain at home to attend to the sick, infants, and others who are in a dependent position, to look after the fires in the various huts, and, of course, if needs be, to protect the property of absentees: for all those who are not physically incapable are supposed to employ themselves in some way, either for their own benefit or that of the community to which they belong.

574 5. It is customary for every family to maintain a supply of
251 provisions in excess of its own requirements for the use of friends who may chance to visit the encampment; but in the storage of their food—owing probably to the ease with which it is generally procured—much is often wasted which might without difficulty be preserved. The seeds of the *Artocarpus chaplasha*, and of a species of *Semecarpus*, are alone kept for any length of time. The manner in which this is effected will be described in the section treating of "Food."[7]

462 6. Migrations and other events affecting the movements of a
562 whole community are arranged by the chief and elders; women
484 in such matters are not consulted, though while on the march it is they who are expected to carry the heaviest loads: this

[1] *Vide ante* "Hair," paragraph 4, and *post* "Shaving," paragraph 2.
[2] *Vide post* "Tattooing," paragraph 2.
[3] *Vide* Appendix B, items 60, 58, 62.
[4] *Vide ante* "Habitations," paragraph 4.
[5] *Vide post* "Attire," paragraph 1.
[6] In Appendix B will be found detailed the various objects manufactured by both men and women.
[7] *Vide post* "Food," paragraph 3.

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arises from no want of consideration for the weaker vessel, but simply because, if unnecessarily encumbered, the men would be unable to shoot or pursue any animal which might cross their path.

7. Such training as the children receive is undertaken by their parents or guardians; in the case of boys it consists merely in providing them with miniature weapons suitable to their age, and instructing them in their use: as they advance in years they accompany the men in their hunting and fishing expeditions, and, being by nature intelligent and emulous, they speedily acquire sufficient skill to enable them to afford material assistance to their elders.

8. The girls, similarly, are taught by their mothers, or other female guardians, how to fulfil the various duties which are regarded as essentially pertaining to their sex, and which I have described in the foregoing.

9. It seems hardly necessary to add that the unnatural custom of infanticide is unknown to the Andamanese,[1] and though the mortality among infants is excessive,[2] it is traceable to no want of affection, but to the injudicious treatment and lavish attentions bestowed upon the little ones by their ignorant though well-intentioned elders.[3]

10. For the better security of their babies, when travelling, women are in the habit of hanging round their necks a string the ends of which have been previously fastened to the infant's wrists; the child being then placed in a *chīp-*,[4] cannot by any accident meet with a serious fall.

Attire.—1. Madame de Staël speaks of certain children being "*vêtu dw climât:*" the same expressive remark may be applied to the Andamanese, for no clothing, as we understand the word, is worn by either sex; there are, however, certain so-called ornamental circlets, garters, bracelets, cinctures, and necklaces of bones,[5] wood, or shell, which are its substitute[6] and serve to

[1] The birth of a girl is usually as gratifying to the parents as that of a boy.

[2] *Vide ante* "Reproduction," paragraph 4.

[3] Dr. Day has correctly stated that "men and women seem equally fond of carrying the babies about; all pet them; when they cry for anything, they give it; and over-kindness early consigns the little one to the grave."

[4] *Vide* Appendix B, item 24.

[5] As far as we at present know, the *jārawa-* do not wear necklaces of bone, or the skulls of their deceased relatives. The males of this tribe wear round their heads, waists, knees, and arms, fringes of string attached to a cord or cane, which are called by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-, bĕ·ria-* (*vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, 13*b*).

[6] The relatives of a deceased person will commonly wear such of the ornaments as are in good condition, "in memoriam;" this is not, however, a distinguishing peculiarity, or one confined to savages.

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291 remove in some measure the impression that they are naked;[1] these appendages are not worn as symbols of rank or (if we except the *rō·gun-*) of status, and their manufacture devolves always upon the females of the community.

2. When fully attired[2] the men are seen with peculiar shredded bunches of *Pandanus* leaves attached to their knees and wrists (termed *tâ-chô·nga-* and *tô·go-chô·nga-*), and a folded Pandanus leaf round their heads (called *ij·i-gō·nga-*[3]), which, as well as the belt (*bōd-*[4]), is common to both sexes; if, however, they (*i.e.* the men) were denuded of one and all, they would be in no way distressed, and in point of fact, often, as while hunting, when perfect freedom of action is needed, they strip themselves of all except the *bōd-*, or other still lighter cincture, in which are inserted any portable objects, such as arrows and knives, that might be required at a moment's notice during the chase.

3. It is otherwise with women, who never[5] appear without an *ō·bunga-*,[6] or small apron of leaves, which is kept in position by the lowest *bōd-*; while men are usually content with one *bōd-* women almost invariably wear four or five, and have been seen with as many as eight round their waists: in addition to the *ō·bunga-* and *bōd-*s married women[7] wear the *rō·gun-*.

291 834 4. It seems probable that Colonel Colebrooke's remarks on the want of decency shown by the Andamanese women referred to the *yē·rewa-*,[8] or to the tribe we now know as *jâr·awa-*[9] for they alone answer to his description in going about perfectly nude: all my experience tends to prove that the females of the tribes of South Andaman are strikingly modest; indeed so particular are they

[1] As has been remarked by Peschel of other black-skinned races, their "dark colour almost removes the impression of nudity."

[462] [2] All ornaments are made by women, whether for themselves or their relatives. Sometimes at a "*jeg-*" (*vide* Games and Amusements) females exchange their girdles (*bōd-*s) and necklaces as keepsakes.

[3] They wear no head covering, but carry a large leaf screen (*kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*) as a protection against sun and rain.

[4] For a complete list of personal ornaments, *vide* Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[5] "Nudity prevails among both sexes of the Australians, the Andaman Islanders, sundry tribes on the White Nile, the Red Negroes of the Soudan, and the Bushmen, all of which tribes have as yet no sense of shame" (Peschel, p. 173).

[6] A description of these cinctures, aprons, &c., will be found at Appendix B, items 25 to 43.

[843] [7] During pregnancy loose *bōd-*s (*bōd-lâr-gō·rob-*) are worn by women in lieu of the ordinary kind, which are tight fitting; the *rō·gun-* is also discarded when it becomes inconvenient: after the birth of the child both these cinctures are resumed, the former being fastened as tightly as possible for several days.

[8] *Vide* Appendix B, item 7b and footnote.

[9] The *jâr·awa-* women have hitherto been seen with only armlets and cinctures of string, to which a few short fibres were attached, obviously only for ornamental purposes.

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lâ-, cooking stones; common pebbles, about a couple of inches in diameter, which are heated, and then placed on all sides of the food which it is intended to cook.

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2. When a new *whetstone* is required—as no method of cutting stone is known to them—a block of soft sandstone is chosen, which, if too large, is placed on a fire till it breaks; the piece best adapted for the purpose is then taken and shaped according to fancy, by the aid of one of the hard smooth stone hammers; after being used a short time the edges wear down, and it answers as a hone for several months.[1]

3. Chips and flakes are never used more than once; in fact, several are generally employed in each operation: those having a sharp blade-like edge are reserved for shaving, while others with a fine point are kept for tattooing or scarifying; when done with they are thrown on a refuse heap, or otherwise disposed of, lest injury should befall anyone by inadvertently treading on them. [462] Flaking is regarded as one of the duties of women, and is usually performed by them.[2]

4. For making *chips* two pieces of white quartz are needed; the stones are not pressed against the thigh, nor are they bound round tightly so as to increase the line of least resistance to the blow of the flaker; but one of the pieces is first heated and afterwards allowed to cool, it is then held firmly and struck at right angles with the other stone: by this means is obtained in a few moments a number of fragments suitable for the purposes above mentioned. A certain knack is apparently necessary in order to produce the kind of chips which are at the time required: the smallest flakes are obtained in the same manner and never by pressure.

5. Glass chips are now generally used by all who are in communication with ourselves, in preference to those of flint, as they are sharper and more effective; the method in which they are obtained is the same, the thick lump of glass forming the bottom of beer and wine bottles being selected for the purpose, and never the thinner portions.

6. It has been stated[3] that formerly, for tattooing, a "sharpened flint bound to a stick" was used, and that the present instrument is a bit of broken bottle "inserted into the split extremity of a stick;" no instance has, however, been found confirmatory of the words quoted, and the Andamanese

fatty lustre, thin chips of which are translucent at the edges. (For this description I am indebted to Mr. F. W. Rudler.)

[1] For the mode of use *vide* Appendix B, item 52.

[2] All women can scarify and act as barbers, but only about 50 per cent. of them undertake the more difficult task of tattooing.

[3] *Vide* Dr. Day.

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534 convex side is uppermost; the pointed end is stuck in the ground, and kept in position with one foot; a stone is then placed under the board to enable the performer to make more noise when keeping time, which he does by thumping or kicking the board with the heel of the other foot.

227 462 20. *kūd-*.[1] Hand fishing-net constructed from the prepared fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) by women and girls, who also by its means catch large quantities of fish and prawns, both in streams and among rocks along the coast at low tide. It is about the size of an ordinary butterfly-net; the frame is made of a length of a creeper known to them as *ô·rta-tāi-*, the ends being bound together to form a handle.

285 462 21. *jōb-*.[2] Baskets used by all the Great Andaman tribes for carrying food and various other articles: they are generally made by women.[3]

[NOTE.—The baskets made by the *.yē·rewa-* or North Andaman tribes, differ from those found among the *.bō·jig* tribes in having a wider base and a smaller mouth.[4]]

21*a*. The *jār·awa-*[5] baskets differ from those in use among the Great Andaman tribes in having no firm base.

286 462 22. *châ·panga-*.[6] Netted reticules made and used by women for carrying small objects: the string used for this purpose is generally prepared from the fibre of the *Anadendrum paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*, item 64), but as this is not always obtainable the less-valued fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*) is sometimes employed as a substitute.

23. *pār·epa-*.[7] Sleeping mat made by women of strips of a species of *Calamus* fastened securely in the ordinary manner with string made from the fibre of the *Gnetum edule* (Andam., *pī·lita-*, item 65). When in use the rolled-up portion of these mats—which are generally 15 to 20 feet long—serves as a pillow.

23*a*. The *jār·awa-*[8] sleeping mats hitherto found have always been of short lengths, but as wooden pillows similar to those in use among the Nicobarese have been found in their huts, it is probable that the specimens obtained represent full sized mats.

854 462 24. *chīp-*.[9] Sling or band made by women from the bark of

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 18.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 17.
[3] *Vide* Part III, "Basket-work," paragraphs 2 and 3.
[4] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 14*a*.
[6] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 33.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 15*a*.
[9] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 25.

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the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*), which is worn like a sash over one shoulder by women, and sometimes by men, when carrying infants.[1]

The plain specimens are called *chīp-lū·pa-*.

Those ornamented with netting *chīp-râ·b-*.

Those ornamented with shells *chīp-yâ·mnga-*.

25. *bōd-*.[2] Waistbelt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine (*Pandanus Andamanensium*); the bunch of leaves or tail is worn at the back.

[NOTE.—These specimens are of the kind worn by women and girls of the eight Great Andaman tribes; the females of the *jăr·awa-* tribes appear to go entirely nude.]

25*a*. *bōd-*.[3] Waistbelts of similar description, but having a less bushy tail, are worn more or less generally by men and youths of the eight Great Andaman tribes.

26. *rō·gun-*.[4] Belt made from the leaves of the young screw-pine, which is worn by adult married women only.

27. *tâ-chô·nga-*.[5] Garters, which are frequently worn by men and youths: they are made in the same way as the *bōd-* (item 25.)

28. *tô·go-chô·nga-*.[6] Bracelets, also worn by men and youths, much resembling the last-named object.

29. *gar·en-pē·ta-*.[7] Ornamental waistbelt of *Dentalium octogonum*, which is worn occasionally by both sexes.

30. *bē·ria-*[8] *jăr·awa-* waistbelts, necklets, and armlets, which are believed to be worn by men and youths only.

31. *ij·i-gō·nga-*.[9] Head-dress of Pandanus-leaf, worn occasionally by young men and women.

The following ten articles are worn by both sexes as ornaments either round the neck or head :—

32. *ī·na-ô·la-tâ-*[10]	..	made of fresh water-shells.
33. *pē·r-tâ-* ..	..	„ cane or wood.
34. *yâ·dī-tâ-*[11]	..	„ turtle bones.
35. *bai·an-tâ-*	..	„ paradoxurus bones.
36. *dū·ku-tâ-*[12]	..	„ iguana bones.

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Social Relations, &c.," paragraph 10.
[2] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27.
[3] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 27*a*.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 29.
[5] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 9.
[6] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 35.
[8] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 13, 13*a*, and 13*b*.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, figs. 6 and 6*a*.
[10] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 42.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 38.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 40.

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37. *bē·wa-tâ-* .. made of red coral.
38. *râ·ta-ô·la-tâ-* .. „ small sea shells.
39. *rē·keto-tâ-*[1] .. „ *Hemicardium unedo* shells.
40. *ngâ·tya-tâ-*[2] and *jū·mu-ta-* „ mangrove seed tops.
41. *gar·en len pī·d-* .. „ *Dentalium octogonum* and children's hair.[3]

42. *râb-*.[4] Fine netting, plain or ornamented with shells, worn occasionally by both sexes as necklaces, armlets, &c. Baby-slings (item 24), bows, pig-spears, &c., are sometimes ornamented with pieces of this netting.

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43. *râ-*. Ornamental cord, made by men from the yellow skin of an orchid root, and worn round the waist intertwined sometimes with fibres of the *Melochia velutina* (Andam., *al·aba-*). It is also occasionally interwoven with fibres of the *Anodendron paniculatum* (Andam., *yō·lba-*), in order to make ornamental fastenings for arrows, turtle harpoons, and personal adornments.

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44. *chàu·ga-tâ-*.[5] Human bone necklaces sometimes ornamented with *Dentalium octogonum*. These are worn as charms during illness by friends or relatives of the deceased, and may be often seen tied tightly round the part in pain; they are also worn when in health to ward off disease.[6]

45. *chàu·ga l'ōt chē·ta-*.[7] Human skull, carried *in memoriam* by relatives of the deceased.[8]

46. *chàu·ga l'â·kà ē·kib-*.[9] Human jaw, which is carried in a similar manner.[10]

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47. *pē·licha-*.[11] Boar's tusk, used for planing bows, paddles, &c., as it answers this purpose, in *their* hands, admirably, it is much valued; when required for use the inner edge is sharpened with a *Cyrena* shell.

48. *tai·li-ban·a-*.[12] Stone hammer, which the men now use principally in beating out iron for arrow-heads, &c., and the women when making bone necklaces.

49. *chī·di-*.[13] *Pinna* shell, used as plates for food, or as receptacles for pigments.

[1] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 45.
[2] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 73.
[3] An interesting description of these various necklaces will be found in a paper by Dr. Allen Thomson, F.R.S., Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. xi, p. 295.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 34.
[5] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 46.
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 2, 7, 8.
[7] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7.
[8] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 5 and 19.
[9] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 7*a*.
[10] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 9.
[11] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 65.
[12] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 72.
[13] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 26.

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58. *tâ·la-ōg-*.[1] White clay, used mixed with water, for ornamental painting of the person and of various articles, *e.g.*, bows, baskets, buckets, trays, &c.: the work is done by women: when painting their relatives they spare no pains in executing neat designs with their finger-nails.

[NOTE.—Women during pregnancy are in the habit of nibbling small quantities of this substance from time to time, in the belief that it is beneficial to their condition.]

59. *ōg-*. Common whitish-grey clay, lumps of which are found somewhat plentifully in various parts of the islands. It is used, mixed with water, for smearing over the body when the heat is oppressive.[2] A lump of it is placed on the top of the forehead as a symbol of bereavement, and kept there generally until the expiration of the mourning period.[3] It is also sometimes used by way of ornament on the person, by smearing the trunk and limbs with the wash and then, before it has had time to dry, passing the outspread finger-tips over the surface so as to form some pattern.[4]

60. *kòi·ob-*.[5] Red-ochre paint, which is made by mixing red oxide of iron, *ū·pla-* (*vide* next item), with some greasy substance, the fat of the pig or turtle, sometimes of the iguana, dugong, &c., and occasionally the oil of an almond, called *ē·mej-*, is used. This pigment is applied to the person either ornamentally or otherwise. It is accredited with hygienic properties,[6] and from its mode of application it can be readily determined whether the wearer is suffering or rejoicing. The nostrils and centre of the upper lip are occasionally painted with it, as the smell of the fat is agreeable to them.[7] Before a corpse is removed for burial it is smeared over the face and neck with this paint as a mark of respect, and in order to please the departed spirit.

61. *ū·pla-*. Red oxide of iron after it has been dried and baked. It is principally used in making the pigment described in the preceding paragraph. It is also employed in the manufacture of the red wax, called *kâ·ngatâ-būj-* (*vide* next item).

62. *kâ·ngatâ-būj-*. Red wax, generally prepared by men, composed of *â·ja-pīd-*, *rīm-*, and *ū·pla-* (items 56, 55, and 61); in the absence of the last-named ingredient *kòi·ob-* (item 60) is

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraph 7.
[2] *Vide* Part I, "Anatomy and Physiology," paragraph 5.
[3] *Vide* Part II, "Death and Burial," paragraphs 2, 6, 8, and footnote [1].
[4] *Vide* Part III, "Painting," paragraphs 5 and 6.
[5] *ū·pla-* is collected chiefly during the dry months; in its natural condition, as found, it is called *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-*; in that condition it is applied to sores, and to the persons of fever patients; it is administered internally for coughs, fevers, &c. (*vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraphs 4 and 5).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Medicine," paragraph 2.
[7] *Vide* Part I, "Odour."

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substituted. These three substances are melted and stirred over a fire until of a proper consistency; the pigment is then poured into small pots or large shallow shells, where on cooling it soon hardens. When required for use the pot or shell is placed on the fire and the melting wax applied according to fancy. The string fastenings of fish and pig arrows (items 4, 5, and 6) the turtle harpoon (item 10), and pig spear (item 9), are protected with a coating of this wax, and it is applied ornamentally to the food trays (item 72), nautilus shells (item 14), and the outside of buckets (item 13); it is also used for closing cracks in buckets, and in canoes if not too large.

63. *chū·lnga-*. olive-coloured clay found in small springs in the jungles: in its liquid form it is applied medicinally after the manner of *kòi·ob-chū·lnga-* (*vide* footnote [5], p. 184).

64. *yō·lba-*. (*Anodendron paniculatum*), the fibre of which is much valued on account of its excellence; string made from it is used for bowstrings and arrow fastenings, for netting the *châ·panga-* (item 22), and *râb-* (item 42), for making their various necklaces and other personal ornaments, and also for the fastenings of knives and turtle harpoons.

65. *pī·lita-* (*Gnetum edule*), from the fibre of which string is prepared and used almost exclusively by women, chiefly for the manufacture of the *kūd-* (item 20), and *pār·epa-* (item 23); it is not sufficiently strong to serve as arrow fastenings, though on an emergency it is sometimes used for this purpose.

66. *al·aba-* (*Melochia velutina*). From fibre obtained from this tree rope is made for turtle-lines (*bē·tmo-*), nets, and cables, the preparation and manufacture of which devolve on men; the bark of this tree also furnishes the material of which the *chīp* (item 24) or baby-slings are made.

67. *pō·tòkla-*.[1] Netting-needles, made in two sizes of bamboo and used in making nets.

[NOTE.—The turtle-net (item 12) is not made with netting-needles, but with two sticks called *kū·tegbo-*.[2]]

68. *pō-chô-*. Bamboo knives, which are shaped into form while green and then dried and charred over a fire to render them sharp and fit for use; formerly they were employed for cutting meat and other food.[3]

69. *wai-chô-* and *pâr-chô-*. Two varieties of cane knives, but similar to item 68.

70. *tō·ug-*.[4] Torch, made by women, of resin wrapped in a large leaf (*Crinum lorifolium*); it is used when fishing, travelling, or

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 12.
[2] These are made of a light hard wood known as *bē·rewil-*.
[3] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 10.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 66.

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373 dancing by night: the resin is obtained from a large tree called by them *maiī-*, which also is often employed in the construction of their largest canoes. A larger description of torch is made by men, and used when fishing by night.

71. *lâ·pi-*. Gurjon wood torch, obtained from the heart of rotten logs of the *Dipterocarpus lævis* (Andam., *â·rain-*): as these do not burn so readily as the *tō·ug-* (item 70) they are rarely used outside their huts.

415 72. *pū·kuta-yât-mâk·nga-*.[1] Food tray, made by men of some [462] soft wood, generally of the large flat buttress roots of the trees (*Sterculiaceæ*) of which their canoes are made.

764 73. *â·ra-*. Long fringe-like cane-leaf wreaths, which are [462] made by women, and suspended from trees, &c., round an encampment or hut where a death has occurred, and round the spot where the corpse is deposited in order to warn off persons inadvertently approaching the place, which is believed to be haunted by the spirit of the deceased.[2]

285 74. *kâ·pa-jâ·tnga-*. Fan-like screen, made by women, of a [462] description of palm-leaf (Andam., *kâ·pa-*), two of which are fastened together with leaf stems: it is used for many purposes, amongst others as a protection from rain and from the direct rays of the sun in hot weather; in the absence of a *pār·epa-* (item 23) it is often used as a sleeping mat, and it serves also as a wrapper for bundles of various kinds.

75. *kâ·pa-*. Leaf wrappers, as described above, are employed for storing and packing the red oxide of iron.

293 76. *ūj-*.[3] Long brush-like shavings of the *Tetranthera lanceæfolia*, prepared by men with the sharp edge of a *Cyrena* shell. When dancing these are often held (by both sexes) in their hands, or are stuck in their waistbelts or other personal ornaments.

412 77. *kô·no-*.[4] Iron knife used in cutting up food; to some a wooden or iron skewer is attached, they are then called *châm-chô-*. 78.[5]

291 79. *ō·bunga-*. Species of apron, consisting of one to six leaves of the *Mimusops Indica* (Andam., *dō·gota-*), which are fastened to the lowest *bōd-* by women from motives of modesty;[6] the leaves are not spread out so as to cover a wide surface, but are laid one above the other, and removed separately as each becomes stiff and shrivelled: the reason given for the selection of this

[1] *Vide* Plate VII, fig. 16.
[2] *Vide* Part II. "Death and Burial," paragraph 3.
[3] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 37.
[4] *Vide* Plate VIII, fig. 21.
[5] This No. is attached to "Specimens of Andamanese Hair" (*vide* footnote 1, p. 175).
[6] *Vide* Part I, "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 8, and footnote.

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291 particular leaf is that it keeps green and fresh for a longer time than any other.

[NOTE.—The women of the North Andaman tribes, until recent years, appear to have worn no *ô·bunga*, or only in a very modified form; the change which is now observable among them in this respect is doubtless to be traced to their intercourse with the people of South Andaman.]

412 80. *kai-*.[1] Bamboo tongs, made by women, and used for any
[462] purpose which would involve a risk of burning or scalding the fingers, such as lifting a pot or piece of cooked food off the fire.

81. *ko·pòt-*. Bucket made from a single joint of the *Bambusa*
415 *gigantea*, pieces of which are sometimes found on the coast, having floated ashore from the neighbouring continent or from wrecks; they are much valued on account of their lightness and the labour saved in making a wooden bucket (*dâ·kar-*, item 13), which being, as before described, scooped out of a single piece of wood, is a laborious undertaking.

[NOTE.—The origin of the *dâ·kar-* is doubtless to be traced to the *ko·pòt-*.]

82. *gõb-*. Bamboo vessel, of which there are two varieties, viz., (*a*) for use as a water-holder: this is often 4 or 5 feet long, the partitions at the joints being broken through with a spear head or other suitable instrument, the lowest one only being left to form the bottom of the vessel; and (*b*) for use as a cooking pot and food-holder: its length consists of a single joint of bamboo, into which—after it has been cleaned, washed, and dried over a fire—food is packed and cooked; as will be seen by reference to Part III,[2] these vessels are only capable of serving on a single occasion; the handle is formed with a piece of *bē·tma-*.

83. *lâ-*. Cooking stones: the mode in which they are used is described in Part III.[3]

412 84. *kâ·ta-ngâ·tanga-* (*lit.*, crab-hook). An implement employed for picking up live crabs between rocks, in order to save the fingers from being nipped; it consists merely of a branch broken off the *Rhizophora conjugata*, which (unlike other trees) at once furnishes a strong hook suitable for the above purpose.

85. *â·ra-tig-jē·rabnga-*. Tufted leaf brushes, which are used for the same purpose as the *â·ra-* (item 73), and also by persons recently tattooed to drive away flies.

[A few other objects, omitted from this list, will be found described in Journ. Anthrop. Inst., vol. vii, pp. 457–465.]

[1] *Vide* Plate IX, fig. 11.
[2] *Vide* "Food," paragraph 31.
[3] *Vide* paragraph 27, and "Stone Implements," paragraph 2.

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Onge

3. Food

In the absence of men, women also are good at fishing inside the coral reefs. They do this with two small nets used together. Their catch generally consists of brilliantly coloured fish with yellow, red, green, blue, black and white stripes forming varied and attractive designs. The Onge eat all fish without discrimination. My Indian collaborators, on the other hand, considered the coloured fish dangerous to their health and refused to cook them ; the Sacred Vedas, in fact, advise the avoidance of brigthly hued fish and of fish without scales. I wanted to try both kinds, and found them perfectly palatable, tasty and harmless.

No tool, used for any purpose by the Onge, ever gets a cleaning. Cleanliness, I repeat, is unknown in Little Andaman. See how food is prepared and disposed of ! Care is taken only not to throw big pieces of meat intended for cooking directly on the bare ground ; but once it is cooked, food is treated with the utmost disregard for dirt, dust, cobwebs and other such things. It is usually left lying around on large leaves spread out for the purpose. The remains of the Onge's orgiastic meals are kept out of reach of the dogs on the ceiling of the huts, to be covered with flies when no fire is lit directly below. Sand and grit may get wedged annoyingly in the teeth, but not such impalpable things as dust or cobwebs. The use of unclean food is not repugnant to the Onge. The same can be said for water polluted by dogs drinking and bathing in it, or by the presence of putrefying carcases. In the west of Little Andaman I saw some Onge avidly drinking from pools of a blackish water with a revolting sulphurous smell. After thoroughly filtering and boiling it, I too used such water, for it was the only water available in the neighborhood. This caused no ill effects. My Indian men considered it perfectly healthy and invigorating, and drank it safely in its natural condition.

The Onge eat with their unwashed fingers, without the help of tools. On rare occasions they use platters made of the flattened-out stems – or bracts – of *areca* palms. They sometimes carry these platters when travelling, but of course never wash them although they become coated in rancid, greasy filth. They soon assume a dark colour and a truly revolting appearance – aside from the awful smell. A. R. RADCLIFFE-BROWN's statement – that the Andamanese paint their bodies to neutralize the unpleasant smell of food that clings to them after their orgiastic feedings – shows only indirect knowledge of the life and manners of those people. Even the horrible flatulence that follows their pork orgies is not considered an inconvenience ; yet it is much more revolting than all the other body odours.

Although the Onge observe few hygienic precautions they do follow a number of medical practices, not all devoid of beneficial effects. Here are a few more remarks on their eating and drinking habits. For about six months of the year, between November and April, water is scarce in Little Andaman. Every kind of fresh water is then considered good by the Onge, regardless of whether it is a murky infusion of rotting leaves or afloat with the putrefied

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

attempts to help, after binding his throat, had consisted in smearing the man's entire body with a mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey with an extra layer on the bitten limb. Although it was very late to start treatment I injected antiserum, and the next day the man seemed a little better. I next saw him eleven days after the injection, when the arm appeared much less swollen, and the pain had almost disappeared, although clear traces of the accident remained; the skin was cracked and peeling, and the two puncture marks at the site of the bite were still gaping open, each revealing red, purulent flesh over a circular area more than two centimetres in diameter. The arm looked almost gangrenous, but its owner did not seem worried, and joined in cheerfully with the others round me. Just over a month after the accident the wound was completely healed, leaving one very grateful patient.

The incident shows the complete solidarity of this simple and reputedly so warlike community; by tacit agreement the patient was relieved of all work, and provided with food by the other families in the communal hut. While he was seriously ill his wife went hunting and fished, normally the man's work. Similar help is given in the case of the aged, or if a wife and mother falls ill; food is provided for them, and for the children, and certain 'sooth-sayers' appear to be at least partially provided with food by the rest of the community on a permanent basis.

For any kind of fever the Onges turn immediately to their stock remedy, smearing the entire body with the usual mixture of ochre, turtle fat and honey. The legs, arms, chest and abdomen are then tightly bound with strips of *Ficus* bark, which are removed and renewed from time to time. Whether the patient has pains in the abdomen or in the chest, or elsewhere, or has a cough, he is invariably stretched out on the ground, and the appropriate part is given a form of vigorous massage by the feet of one of the bystanders. Usually the entire body is pummelled for quite a time, the patient being turned over and over. The patient ends up looking rather like a mummy plastered in ochre and the whole process is to us somewhat amusing, but the Onges all practise it, and submit to it, very seriously, believing implicitly in its efficiency. The mechanism by which the treatment works has yet to be determined!

Balls of ochre the size of a hazelnut and varying in colour from bright red to whitish-yellow are given by mouth, particularly to

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

136 *fortispina*, uses a similar action on the larger bivalves. Its shell is equipped with a very effective form of tin-opener, which it keeps polished by vigorous rubbing.)

I watched a *Pterocera* attentively scrutinizing the hand holding it. After exploring it very carefully, the creature tried to free itself by beating violently with its foot, causing considerable pain. I held one by one of its protuberances, which was like a large right-angled hook. Suddenly, while my attention was held by a shoal of fish, I felt a sharp pain on the back of my hand. Taken by surprise, I watched the creature to try and discover what it had done. From a furrow at the base of one large front hook, a little to its left, I saw a tentacle emerge, able to turn in any direction, with a retractable eye at its tip. The eye, after a few exploratory movements, fixed its gaze on the place on my hand the creature intended to hit, and then the foot began to beat wildly on my hand, time and time again, causing a quite surprising degree of pain.

462 226 224 It is during the honey feasts, when the tides are exceptionally low and the seas calm, that the womenfolk come into prominence. While the men normally do all the hunting for game and large fish, using arrows and harpoons, the women, with their nets, catch the smaller fish in the rivers and marshes, and among the coral reefs at low tide. Their contribution to the everyday diet is by no means negligible, and during the season of very low tides their daily haul is tremendous.

262 825 The importance of fish to the Onges is shown by the fact that their word for it, *ciogbe*, is also used to mean food in general, and clearly dates back to the time before the arrival of the pigs on the island, when fish and sea food in general was the basis of their diet.

[251] So plentiful is it that even at the height of the season the most they do in the way of preserving anything for future use is to expose the fish to smoke in order to deter flies from laying eggs on it for a day or two.

462 226 Only on very rare occasions do the men help in the net-fishing, and then only when they can completely fill the canoes with fish very quickly. I saw it happen for the first time on 24 March 1953, in the great coral reef near Nachuge, just as it happens all over the island at this time of year, when the pilchard shoals are so far inshore that there are not enough canoes to hold the catch. As the

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tide goes down, the shoals are caught in the reefs stretching out to sea all round the island and the Onges leave everything to man-handle the canoes from pool to pool and fill them to overflowing. The water is almost saturated with fish, and the Onges go on and on until they have nothing more they can use to hold the catch. Nowhere else in the world have I seen anything like this wholesale slaughter.

The pilchards of the Andamans are rather larger than usual, some weighing as much as half a kilogram or more. The Onges catch them regardless of size and then sort them into lengths before cooking (cooking, needless to say, without stopping to gut them). Men, women and children work feverishly, plunging their hands into the heaving mass of fish so that they reek of it for days, together with the dogs, whose coats become the inevitable hand-towels.

Every available vessel is used for the cooking, and the rest of the haul is cooked directly over hot ashes. The biggest are cooked alone; the smaller ones, in batches of half to one kilogram, are wrapped in big fleshy leaves, tied up with vegetable fibres and cooked for ten minutes or so, turned regularly all the while. To boil the fish, an entire netful of fish roughly equal in size is plunged into boiling water, and boiled as usual far too long for our taste.

Everyone cooks and eats at the same time until (temporarily) unable to eat any more, when the rest of the haul is laid on improvised racks with fires of green wood making smoke underneath. When, a few days later, all is gone, fishing begins again. And so life goes on for weeks, until the shoals have passed the islands.

The real fishing, however, is done by the men. The women use small nets about fifty centimetres in diameter, and about the same depth. The opening consists of a pliable cane, barely three centimetres in diameter, bent into a circle and tied with the ends crossing each other and projecting about twenty centimetres to form the handles. Each woman handles two nets, one held between the legs and the other in one hand, while the other hand pokes with a stick into the crevices in the reefs under the water to drive out the fish which have taken refuge as the tide goes out. Once found the fish are killed – very simply, by biting them between the

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I examined a number of canoes drawn up on the beach. They varied in size from some eight to ten metres long, built to carry twenty people, to small single-manned craft three to four metres long, and there were some very small ones clearly intended to encourage the children to set out on their own. The very large canoes are, however, rare. The beam also varied considerably from some barely wide enough to admit a man's knees to others of one and a half metres or more.[1]

In the shallows, contrary to some assertions, paddles are never used; the booms would make alternate paddling extremely difficult. Reversed harpoon shafts are instead used as punt poles and oars, usually made of *Myristica longifolia*, are used only in deep water. They are sometimes but not always lashed into the holes in the gunwale through which the booms pass. They are short, not more than 1·3 metres long and are always rowed forwards (obviously there would be a danger of stubbing a reef if the European style of rowing was used). Like the canoes, the oars vary somewhat in size. Very roughly made they consist of a handle ninety centimetres long and a forty-centimetre blade. The grip tapers almost to a point and increases gradually in diameter towards the blade, which is long, narrow, blunt-ended and flat-convex in section. Usually it is merely roughly shaped with the Onges' crude hatchet, but occasionally it is smoothed off with a sharp *Cyrena* shell. The helmsman and pilot stand on the two platforms, guiding the canoe with oars. As far as possible the rowers avoid the side bearing the outrigger mechanism; any deviation of course caused by the unilateral rowing is corrected by the two steersmen.

When they first launch a canoe the Onges decorate it with ochre designs like those on their bodies and the hollowed logs used to hold honey, although they are washed off as soon as the craft enters the water. As usual the men do all the work up to that point and the women do the painting. The initial painting is the only form of ornament on the canoes; there is not even a mark of ownership, although each canoe is curiously enough recognized as the property of one man, despite the fact that everyone has helped to

[1] I am unable to agree with Brown that the Onge canoes are extremely small, that they have bow and stem, and that their floats are inefficient. My own experiences of travelling in the canoes has led me to the opinion that on these and other points Brown was wrong, possibly partly because he never actually visited Little Andaman.

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build it (when I wanted to acquire two for the new anthropological museum at Port Blair and the Indian Museum in Calcutta I had to bargain with the men recognized as the owners, although the price had to be distributed among all the members of the group).

The chief delight of the men on their fishing trips is the capture of a Giant Turtle. I have already described (p. 88) the spear harpoons which the Onges use to catch them. Once caught, the wretched animals are subjected to a form of vivisection utterly incomprehensible to the Western mind; they are literally cut up alive and the pieces thrown into the boiling cooking-pot. Nor have I ever witnessed anything so terrible as the way in which the Onges, in the absence of any suitable cooking vessel, or the materials for an earth oven, roast these turtles whole and alive over a slow fire. They seem totally unable to realize that animals can feel pain and laugh like children at the other atrocious tortures they unwittingly inflict not only on the turtles, but on every living thing that falls into their hands.

These marine turtles (as far as I was able to see there were no land turtles in the Andamans) yield a far greater amount of food than the dugong, and provide the islanders with both meat and eggs. Two species are common in the seas round the islands, *Chelonia virgata*, or the green turtle, and *Caretta imbricata*, which supplies the shells normally sold commercially. The Onges prefer the former, which are both meaty and more plentiful.

Turtle-hunting and egg-collecting is done by the menfolk. The method is very like that used for dugong and large fish, using the harpoon. Owing to their fear of the spirits abroad in the night, the Onges never go near the beaches between dusk and dawn, when it would be easy to take the turtles on land and immobilize them by turning them on their backs. They do know this trick, however, and use it when captured turtles (often weighing up to a hundredweight) are too heavy to carry in the canoe; the animals are turned on their backs and dumped on the beach ready to pick up later.

The Onges harpoon the turtles from canoes, preferably at night when the turtles are nearing the shore, which they never approach in the day time. When there is a moon the creatures are easily seen, and on dark nights the phosphorescence of the sea helps.

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252 372 824 their love of existing with as little effort as possible is paramount. Since any wood is as good as the next for making a fire, the spirits conveniently have nothing to say in the matter. In other 782 circumstances material considerations lead to quite the opposite 222 effect: when the Onges dig up roots or tubers they not only replace the earth, but cover the place with leaves, the ritual having the good practical objective of appeasing the spirits and ensuring further supplies.

171 224 The preservation of skulls for magical purposes or out of pure superstition survives mainly in Asia and Oceania. In Asia it coincides with other beliefs which demand the killing of domestic animals by strangulation. I have seen this practised along the high reaches of the valley of the Brahmaputra, particularly among the Abor, and the Nagas, and in many other tribes to the south of Tibet and China, all of whom preserve skulls. Head-hunting, found throughout southern Asia, in the islands, and as far as Oceania, is also practised in the areas where animal skulls are preserved.

171 The preservation of animal skulls, particularly bear skulls, is still practised in mongoloid peoples as far as the north of Asia; apart from the Andamans and the Nicobars, human and animal bones are preserved in many parts of Indonesia and as far as New Guinea. In the corona of small islands along the west coast of Sumatra the custom coincides with many others, as well as with certain types of huts and canoes, all present in the Andamans and Nicobars. A good example are the huts raised up off the ground on stilts, common in the Nicobars, Nias, Engano, Mentawai and various parts of Indonesia. The single-boom canoes of these areas, quite apart from their general similarity of structure, all have certain identical features, even to the method of fixing the lateral float of green wood, with pointed hardwood pegs stuck in it like spills. This, again, cannot be due to chance; it must be the effect of a very ancient cultural diffusion, now surviving only in a few specific areas.

224 531 462 The skulls preserved by the Onges have one point of interest; it is the duty of the wife to clean the trophies brought back by her proud husband and then paint them lovingly with lines of ochre. After every successful hunting expedition the wives can be seen busily painting, while the husbands look on with satisfaction.